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ABSTRACT

Antecedents and correlates of interracial behavior among high school students were assessed. Separate questionnaires were prepared for white and black students so that specific items referred explicitly to members of one's own race or to members of the other race. These questionnaires were completed by 750 students in an integrated high school that had experienced several months of racial conflict. Differential rates of avoidance and integrative behavior were observed when race, sex and school class were controlled. The racial differentials were found to be slight, but blacks consistently manifest integrative behavior more frequently than whites. Past equal status contact emerged as the strongest correlate of voluntary interracial behavior, followed by authoritarian personality characteristics and social pressures. Other important predictors of integrative behavior were prejudice, tendency to discriminate, fear of future competition and involvement in school activities. It was concluded that lack of knowledge about the antecedent of racial behavior are apparent in the limited success of programs designed to reduce racial prejudice. (Author/BW)

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Factors Relevant to Interracial Avoidance or Acceptance Behavior in an Integrated High School[1]

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Factors Relevant to Interracial Avoidance or Acceptance Behavior in an Integrated High School

ABSTRACT

Antecedents and correlates of interracial behavior among high school students are assessed. The data are from questionnaires completed by 750 students in an integrated high school that had experienced several months of racial conflict. Differential rates of avoidance and integrative behavior were observed when race, sex and school class are controlled. Results of bivariate analysis tended to substantiate previous research concerning the attitudinal and situational correlates of interracial behavior but stepwise multiple regression analysis revealed considerable over-lap in the variance accounted for by the independent variables. Past equal-status contact emerged as the strongest correlate of voluntary interracial behavior, followed by authoritarian personality characteristics and social pressures. Other important predictors of integrative behavior were prejudice, tendency to discriminate, fear of future competition and involvement in school activities.

Factors Relevant to Interracial Avoidance or Acceptance Behavior in an Integrated High School

Recently a national survey of high school principals revealed that three out of every four schools had experienced some form of student protest. Race relations was identified as one of the major sources of conflict (Trump and Hart, 1969). Such conflict has developed even in integrated schools with fairly long histories of no overt racial problems (Ochberg and Trickett, 1970).

This paper is an analysis of interracial attitudes and behavior in a high school experiencing such conflict. It explores the factors related to conflict and acceptance between black and white students in a high school in the Pacific Northwest during the 1968-69 school year. The school in question was located in an industrial community (population: 60,000) and served about 1,200 students, including 80 blacks.

The events leading to the present study commenced with four serious interracial fights within a two-week period. The administration attempted to control the situation by suspending several black students and one white. Events during the following two weeks included symbolic protests (single black glove worn by black students); additional suspensions of black students, including a fairly large number who gathered in the cafeteria and refused to

go to class; police removal of suspended students and non-students, who refused to leave the school; bomb threats forcing dismissal of school; two student body meetings; and a school board meeting attended by approximately 1,000 adults and which resulted in parent "monitors" patrolling the halls for several days.

At this point the school administrators invited the State Board Against Discrimination to investigate and make recommendations for reducing racial tensions among the students. They also agreed to allow the authors of this paper to make a study of the students' intergroup attitudes and experiences. There were two major research objectives: to learn about student experiences of discriminatory and integrative behavior during a "natural" crisis situation, and to extend some theoretical notions about interracial behavior derived from previous research.

A recent assessment of research about the impact of school integration on interracial attitudes and behavior (Carithers, 1970:31-32) stressed the need for multivariate analysis:

> In determining attitudinal causation, it seems reasonable that the variables of parental and peer attitudes, authoritarianism, socioeconomic status, Northern or Southern background, and educational level might be related in some configural pattern. We might get closer to knowing what the process is if a study were undertaken in which each variable

> was examined by means of multivariate analysis. Some studies have dealt with three or four of the variables, but the weight of each of them--and just how they are related--is unknown (Carither, 1971:31-32).

The present paper is a direct response to this "need". It assesses the impact of eleven independent variables on self-reported interracial interaction. These eleven factors have been identified in previous research as correlates of discriminatory behavior. No attempt was made to fit the eleven into a single theoretical paradigm as they are derived from a variety of theoretical frameworks. Rather, the emphasis was on examining the competition between the factors to determine relative strengths in predicting discrimination and to determine the cumulative explanatory power of various combinations of the eleven independent variables. Hopefully such multivariate analysis will lead to the development of more complex theoretical models which do encompass variables drawn from differing theoretical positions.

In view of the fact that a variety of attitudinal characteristics and situational properties have been identified as relevant to the attitude-behavior nexus (Ehrlich, 1969; Warner and DeFleur, 1969; DeFriese and Ford, 1969; Bass and Rosen, 1969; and Tarter, 1969), both attitudes and situational variables have been included as independent variables. Attitudinal independent variables were prejudice, authoritarianism, feelings of aggression toward members of the other race, and perceived nonconformity. Prejudice, the acceptance of negative

stereotypes about members of another racial or ethnic group, is probably the most frequently tested antecedent of discrimination. Tendency to discriminate differs from prejudice in that the latter refers to negative stereotypes about members of other racial groups, while tendency to discriminate reflects one's perceptions about how he would behave in specific interracial contact situations. Tendency to aggress against members of another race presumably taps support for various kinds of physical aggression against minority persons. This variable's level of specificity is in between that of negative stereotypes (prejudice) and that of the estimation of behavior in specific interracial situations (tendency to discriminate). Fear of future competition refers to the anticipation that increase participation by another ethnic group in the common society will reduce one's access to limited resources, such as college entrance or employment. Authoritarianism denotes rigidity in personality organization, and compulsiveness about societal values. Finally, perceived nonconformity refers to the belief that members of another race violate societal norms more frequently than members of one's own group.

Among the situational variables were social constraints as indicated by perceptions of partents' and peers' reactions to the respondents' participation in interracial activities (parental pressure and peer pressure). Also, three historical factors were included. Past interference and equal-status contact, were reports of the nature and extent of interracial interaction in the

respondent's personal history. A third historical factor, participation in school activities, had to do with personal involvement in extracurricular organizations and activities.

Hypothesized Relationships

Research about correlates of both negative attitudes (prejudice) and discriminatory behavior was the basis for predictions that avoidance or discriminatory behavior was directly related to prejudice, tendency to discriminate, fear of future competition, authoritarianism, tendency to aggress and perceived nonconformity (c.f., DeFriese and Ford, 1958 and 1969; Chadwick, et al., 1971; Frideres, 1968; Hamblin, 1962; Kinnick, 1967; Mack, 1965; and Smith and Rosen, 1958). Also hypothesized as positively associated with avoidance or discriminatory interracial behavior were parental pressure and peer pressure favorable to racial discrimination and past interference. Finally, it was predicted that discriminatory interracial behavior was inversely related to previous equal status contact (Campbell, 1958; Webster, 1961; Singer, 1964; Star, et al., 1965; Singer, 1967), and to the degree of participation in school activities.

Relationships of the eleven independent variables to integrative behavior are hypothesized in the direction opposite that predicted avoidance behavior.

Research Methods

Measurement of Variables

Separate questionnaires were prepared for white and black students so that specific items referred explicitly to members

of one's own race or to members of the other race. The dependent variables, avoidance behavior and integrative behavior, were measured by a series of questions about the frequency of specific types of interracial interaction. Questions were worded so that choice on the part of the respondent was an element in the interaction. In other words, the behaviors, described were not forced upon him by his attendance at an integrated school. The items on avoidance behavior (six items) and integrative behavior (ten items) are presented in Tables 1 and 2.

Independent variables. Three of the independent variables came from the respondents' reports about the frequency of past events. Equal status contact (eight items) focused on the extent of interaction in student roles where the status of participators was roughly equal and the activity rewarding. This scale centerd upon interaction forced on students by their attendance at an integrated school rather than that based primarily upon personal volition. In equal status contact the emphasis is on the respondent as an object of action, while in the case of integrative or avoidance behavior, the focus is upon the respondent as actor. A sample item: "How often do you receive a friendly nod or hello from a Negro (white) student?" Past interference related to frustrations or disturbances in interracial contact at school, and included items such as, "How often are you disturbed by loud talking, horse play and other disruptive behavior in classes by

Negro (white) students?" Finally, participation in school activities was tapped by asking the respondent about how frequently he participated in athletics (both varsity and intramural), how much he dated, and how many close friends he had.

Scales for other independent variables consisted of items to which respondents assigned a score between -100 (extreme disagreement) and +100 (extreme agreement). Copies of these scales are available from the senior author. Some sample items have been published in a previous paper (_____, ____).

Data Collection and Analysis

Questionnaires administered by homeroom teachers were completed by two-thirds of the student body. Few students directly refused to participate, but many missed their homeroom period for a variety of reasons, including illness, afternoon employment, and simple "cutting class." Unfortunately, administrators did not permit a follow-up session to obtain data from students who missed the initial session.

Frequencies of interracial interaction were computed for various sub-samples. Scale items were submitted to principal-axis factor analysis and the resulting factor-weights were used to calculate standardized factor indexes for each respondent.[1] Then bivariate intercorrelations (Pearsonian r's) among the variables were computed. Finally, a stepwise multiple regression analysis permitted the independent variables to compete in "explaining"

the dependent variable and provided a cumulative measure of the variation in interracial interaction accounted for.[2]

Findings

Interracial Interaction

Frequencies of interracial interaction reported by black and white students appear in Tables 1 and 2. The racial differentials

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Tables 1 and 2 About Here

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are slight, but blacks consistently manifest integrative behavior more frequently than whites. The results for avoidance behavior are harder to interpret. On four of the six items (including the only statistically significant difference), white students reported avoiding blacks more than blacks reported avoiding whites.

The results in Table 1 suggest that male students tended to avoid members of another race more frequently than did females. Although none of the differences were significant at the .05 level, male rates were higher than female rates on five of the six avoidance items. The results for integrative behavior were mixed, with females having higher rates of integrative behavior on six of the eleven items, and males having higher rates on the remaining five. These findings were somewhat unexpected in light of Dwyer's (1958) report that males adjusted more rapidly than females to interracial associations in an integrated high school.

Comparisons by school class showed that seniors engaged in avoidance more often than sophomores or juniors. This trend was supported on five of the six avoidance items and by the only statistically significant difference between classes. This same class differential appeared in integrative behavior: seniors had the lowest rate for six of the eleven items, and these included the only two items where the differences were statistically significant. These findings are consistent with previous research. Dwyer (1958) and McNeill (1960) reported that seniors were more prejudiced than juniors and sophomores, and several researchers have noted a positive relationship between students' age and prejudice (Boyton and Mayo, 1942; Radke and Sutherland, 1949; Mayo and Kinzer, 1950).

Bivariate Correlations

Zero-order between the independent variables and avoidance and integrative behavior appear in Table 3. The predictive power of

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Table 3 About Here

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the independent variables in multivariate analysis will be discussed later, so there is little to be gained by contrasting the independent variables as predictors of interracial interaction at this point. However, the differences between the subsamples merit attention. A comparison of the correlation coefficients for the black and white samples revealed that past interference was the only predictor

which was significantly related to avoidance behavior for both racial groups. The only significant difference between black and white students was that prejudice emerged as an important predictor of white students' avoidance of blacks while the reverse was not the case.

There was a significant race differential in the relations between authoritarianism and integrative behavior. For blacks, but not whites, authoritarianism was inversely related to voluntary integrative behavior. For both racial groups, equal status contact was positively associated with integrative behavior.

Sex was not an important control variable. The magnitude of correlations between both kinds of interracial interaction and the independent variables was approximately the same for females as for males, with one exception: there was a significant inverse relationship between prejudice and integrative behavior for females, but not for males.

Several significant differences by school class are complicated by the apparent atypicality of the junior class sample. The interclass differences in the correlation between avoidance behavior and perceived nonconformity suggest (given the lack of longitudinal data) that as the student matures, he increasingly tends to avoid interaction with blacks if he perceives them as nonconforming. However, the coefficient for juniors is not in line with this interpretation. Similar problems of interpretation are presented by the class variations in impact of social pressures on avoidance behavior.

The strength of the association between prejudice and avoidance behavior increases with class in school. In other words, senior students who were prejudiced against blacks, or who have anti-black stereotypes were more likely to avoid black students than were juniors and sophomores.

Another important finding was that correlations between social participation and integrative behavior decreased with each successive year in school. Thus, sophomores with many friends or frequent dates were more likely to interact with black students than were juniors with the same degree of social participation and for seniors there was no correlation between these variables. If it is legitimate to make inferences about longitudinal processes from these cross-sectional data, these findings suggest that as students progress through the school system their friendship groups increase in racial homogeneity.

The data presented in Table 2 underscore the importance of equal status contact as a correlate of voluntary integrative behavior. The correlation coefficients are statistically signficant in every case.

Multivariate Analysis

Estimations of the relative strength of the independent variables in accounting for the variance in interracial interaction were obtained in a stepwise multiple regression analysis which simultaneously analyzed the effects of all the independent variables on the dependent variable. In effect, multiple regression analysis

permits the independent variables to compete with each other to determine which have the strongest relationships with the dependent variable. At the same time, it provides a cumulative measure of how much variation in the dependent variable can be explained by various combinations of independent variables.

The results of the multivariate analysis pertaining to avoidance behavior are presented in Table 4. Only one variable, past

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Table 4 About Here

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interference, emerged as a significant correlate of blacks' avoidance of interaction with white students.[3] It accounted for 10 percent in the variation in the blacks' avoidance behavior. When the data were partialled on past interference, two measures of school involvement, athletics and numbers of friends almost reached significance, which strongly suggests that their effects be more fully pursued in future research.

Although nine of the eleven independent variables were positively correlated with white students' avoidance of blacks (see Table 3) when overlap among them was controlled in the multiple regression analysis, only four emerged as signficant. Prejudice was the strongest variable, followed respectively by social pressures from peers, authoritarianism, and fear of future competition. The multiple R is .335 and the multiple R^2 is .112. In other words, these four variables were able to explain 11 percent of the variation in avoidance behavior by white students.

Thus, the results of the multivariate analysis demonstrate the dangers of incomplete analysis based on bivariate correlations alone. The number of significant bivariate relationships between avoidance behavior and the independent variables might suggest a fairly high level of explained variation of avoidance behavior; the multivariate analysis indicates that when overlap between independent variables was controlled, only 11 percent of the variation in avoidance behavior was accounted for. These results highlight the need for expanded models of discriminatory behavior. Apparently those variables which influence discrimination must powerfully remain to be identified.

Table 5 presents the results of the multiple regression analysis for integrative behavior. Two variables emerged significant correlates of black students' integrative behavior with white students. Equal

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Table 5 About Here

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status contact was the strongest factor, and authoritarianism (inverse relationship) was the next most powerful predictor. These two variables in combination produced a multiple R of .510 and R^2 of .259. Thus, equal status contact and authoritarian characteristics explained 26 percent of the variance of black students' integrative behavior.

For the white students five variables (including three measures of school movement) were significant predictors of integrative behavior towards black students. Equal status contact

was the strongest factor, followed by tendency to discriminate (inverse relationship), all three measures of social involvement, number of friends, participation in athletics (inverse relationship) and number of dates, authoritarianism (inverse relationship) and social pressures from parents. The multiple R was .452 and the multiple R^2 was .204, which means that these five variables accounted for 20 percent of the variation in white students integrative behavior towards black students.

Both variables (contact and authoritarianism) in the multiple regression equation for black students also entered the equation for white students. In addition, tendency to discriminate was a significant preditor of self-reported interracial behavior. It was hypothesized that participation in school activities would provide opportunity for equal status contact and thus would be linked to integrative behavior. This hypothesis held for groups of friends and dating, but there was an inverse relationship between participation in athletics and integrative behavior. This finding is at variance with the popular notion that interracial athletics is an important vehicle in reducing racial discrimination. A post hoc "explanation" derived from examining responses to open-end questions is that competition for team membership and other athletic exchanges between black and white students led the white students to reject integrative interaction with blacks. Finally, the student's perceptions of parental reaction to integrative behavior with blacks made a significant contribution to explaining integrative behavior.

Discussion

A major finding from the present analysis was the commanding position of past equal-status contact between white and black students as a correlate of voluntary integrative behavior. Consistent with previous research (Webster, 1961; Campbell, 1958) the magnitude of the correlation between these variables was greater for black students than for whites. Equal-status contact was the strongest factor in multivariate analysis of black students' integrative behavior, and past interference, which might be defined as punishing equal status contact, was the only significant correlate of black students' avoidance behavior. Previous research has produced ambivalent results about the relationship between equal-status contact and interracial attitudes and behavior. Reviews by Carithers (1970) and Proshansky (1966) have arrived at the same conclusion: equal-status interracial contacts in the school setting may reduce ethnic prejudice, but not necessarily. It is apparent from Table 3 that in this particular high school, neither race, sex or school class were important control variables influencing the relationship between equal-status contact and interracial behavior.

It was anticipated that the multivariate analysis would provide clues about the nature of the relationships among intervening variables in the contact-behavior model. But equal-status contact entered the multiple regression equation first for both black and

white students. Among the students surveyed the relationship between equal status contact and interracial behavior seems direct rather than through some unknown intervening variable. It cannot be said that there are no intervening variables, only that none of the eleven independent variables assessed here played that role.

The impact of authoritarian personality characteristics seem fairly significant. Authoritarianism entered the equations for both avoidance behavior and integrative behavior (inverse relationship) equation for white students and the integrative behavior equation (inverse relationship) for black students. Social pressures of parents and peers also played an important part. Peer pressures was the second variable to enter the regression equation for white student's avoidance behavior, and parents' pressures made a small contribution to explaining white integrative behavior. Social background variables such as family income, mother's education, father's education, and father's occupation were not correlates of either avoidance or integrative behavior.

The fairly low level of explained variance for interracial interaction by black (integrative, 26 percent and avoidance, 10 percent) and white students (20 percent and 11 percent, respectively) confirms what students of minority-majority relations have been saying for a long time. Interracial behavior is a very complex phenomenon. Models and paradigms presently in use are inadequate, Even the use of eleven variables identified by

previous researchers as important correlates of interracial behavior did not allow us to account for the variance in integrative and avoidance behavior among high school students. Consequences of this lack of knowledge about the antecedents of racial behavior are apparent in the limited success and frequent counterproductivity of programs designed to reduce prejudice and to increase integrative behavior. Additional work is warranted, and one promising avenue of approach might be to jettison many of the variables traditionally assumed to be antecedents of racial discrimination, and to pay more attention to variables which "survive" multivariate analyses.

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FOOTNOTES

1. For a discussion of the method used to perform the principle-axis factor analysis of a correlation matrix see: S. H. Thomson, The Factorial Analysis of Human Ability (New York: Houghton-Mifflin, 4th ed., 1950), pp. 70-74.

2. "This program computes a sequence of multiple linear regression equations in a stepwise manner. At each step one variable is added to (or taken from) the regression equation. The variable added is the one which makes the greatest reduction in the error sum of squares. Equivalently it is the variable which has highest partial correlation with the dependent variable partialled on the variables which have already been added and equivalently it is the variable which, if it were added, would have the highest F value . . . Variables are automatically removed when their F values become too low." W. J. Dixon, ed., BMD: Biomedical Computer Programs (Los Angeles: Health Sciences Computing Facility, Department of Medicine and Public Health, School of Medicine, University of California at Los Angeles), p. 233.

3. Multiple regression analysis requires that each respondent have a score for every variable included in the analysis and due to missing data the size of the black sample was reduced to 32. This made it difficult to achieve statistical significance, particularly when the stepwise multiple regression analysis begins to partial out the effects of some of the independent variables.

4. When Multiple R is used there is a tendency for a slightly inflated R due to the smaller number of degrees of freedom because of additional calculations. This bias towards an inflated R increases as the number of variables in the equation (n) approaches the number of cases (N). In this study, since the Ns are relatively small the bias towards an inflated R may be substantial and a correction for shrinkage is employed. The formula is:

$$r'_{1.23. \; . \; .n} = 1 - (1 - r^2_{1.23. \; . \; .n}) \left(\frac{N - 1}{N - n}\right)$$

Quinn McNemar, Psychological Statistics (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1962), p. 184.

Table 1

MEAN FREQUENCY OF AVOIDANCE BEHAVIORS PER MONTH

FOR RACE, SEX AND CLASS IN SCHOOL

Item	Race		Sex		School Class		
	Blacks	Whites	Male	Female	Soph	Junior	Senior
Avoid going down the halls where Negro (white) students are gathered.	1.7	2.7	3.5	1.9	2.1	1.8	5.4
Avoid going to the restrooms when Negro (white) students are there.	0.5	2.1	3.1	1.3	1.4	.9	5.6
Avoid eating at tables in the lunch room where Negro (white) students are eating.	1.9	1.7	2.1	1.3+	1.4	1.8	1.8
Encourage others not to invite Negro (white) students to participate in a casual group activity.	1.1	1.1	1.8	0.5	1.5	.9	1.4
More or less consciously avoid talking to Negro (white) students.	6.5	0.7	0.8	0.6	.6	.5	3.3
Avoid bull sessions where white students and Negro students are talking things over.	0.4	1.2	1.0	1.4	.7	.4	1.3*
	N=42	N=742	N=355	N=387	N=312	N=262	N=168

+Difference between samples is significant at .10 level using test of difference between means assuming samples have unequal means.

*Difference is significant at .05 level.

Table 2

MEAN FREQUENCY OF INTEGRATIVE BEHAVIOR PER MONTH

FOR RACE, SEX AND CLASS IN SCHOOL

Item	Race		Sex		School Class		
	Blacks	Whites	Male	Female	Soph	Junior	Senior
Nod or say hello to Negro (white) students in school.	116.7	64.8	60.9	68.3	68.8	55.0	72.0
Talk, more than just saying hello, with a Negro (white) student in the hall, or some similar place.	39.1	25.0	22.4	27.4	29.5	18.9	25.9
Lend small things (including money) to Negro (white) students at school.	6.9	5.0	5.6	4.5	5.0	3.0	8.1
Asked a Negro (white) student to play cards or ping pong or other games during P.E. or other recreational periods.	22.5	4.9	4.6	5.2	6.8	4.2	2.6***
Offered or given helpful suggestions or information about school, jobs, dates, etc. to a Negro (white) student.	15.7*	4.7*	4.2	5.3+	4.5	5.0	4.6
Participate in a social event with a Negro (white) student.	5.3	4.7	4.5	4.9	6.5	3.7	3.0*
Eat a meal in the lunch room with a Negro (white) student.	12.9	4.5	5.2	3.8+	4.7	4.7	3.5
Drop over to the home of a Negro (white) for a bull session.	6.0	2.0	0.2	3.7	1.5	4.0	0.1
Engage in casual social activities outside school in a group that includes Negroes (whites)? Examples: go downtown shopping, to a movie, riding around, etc.	14.1	1.5	1.8	1.1	1.7	1.3	1.2
Date a Negro (white) student.	1.9	0.7	1.1	0.3	0.4	1.5	0.0
	N=42	N=742	N=355	N=387	N=312	N=262	N=168

+Difference between samples is significant at .10 level using test of difference between means assuming samples have unequal variances.

*Difference is significant at .05 level.

***Difference is significant at .001 level.

Table 3

BIVARIATE CORRELATIONS BETWEEN THE INDEPENDENT VARIABLES AND TWO KINDS OF INTERRACIAL INTERACTION, CONTROLLING FOR RACE, SEX, AND CLASS IN SCHOOL

Independent Variables	Race		Sex		School Class		
	Blacks N=40	Whites N=742	Male N=355	Female N=387	Soph N=312	Junior N=262	Senior N=168
Avoidance Behavior							
Prejudice	.033	.273*	.279*	.298*	.198*	.309*	.378*
Tendency to Discriminate	.050	.234*	.210*	.285*	.300*	.136*	.281*
Fear of Competition	----	.230*	.227*	.256*	.215*	.113	.333*
Authoritarianism	-.034	.162*	.212*	.114	.038	.238*	.240*
Tendency to Aggress	-.045	.144*	.156*	.169*	.060	.173*	.243*
Nonconformity	----	.217*	.281*	.170*	.176*	.101	.364*
Soc. Pressures to Avoid							
A. Parents	.140	.153*	.208*	.098	.236*	.013	.193*
B. Peers	-.103	.220*	.287*	.168*	.332*	.004	.279*
Past Interference	.332*	.102*	.049	.158*	.154*	.119	.123*
Equal Status Contact	-.173	-.012	-.038	.006	-.037	.110	-.081
Participation in School Activities							
A. Athletics	.133	.031	.071	-.023	.072	-.034	.047
B. Dates	-.158	-.018	.103	-.059	.030	-.099	-.014
C. Number of Friends	.139	.040	-.106	.038	.089	-.071	-.167
Integrative Behavior							
Prejudice	-.264	-.110*	-.002	-.207*	-.200*	-.085	.027
Tendency to Discriminate	.070	-.246*	-.002	-.207*	-.243*	-.294	-.194*
Fear of Competition	----	.116*	-.115	-.127	-.197*	-.072	-.021
Authoritarianism	-.403*	.020	.020	-.048	-.104	.024	.093
Tendency to Aggress	-.271	-.110*	-.131*	-.128*	-.133	.002	-.192*
Nonconformity	----	.124*	-.057	-.183*	-.189*	-.122	.003
Social Pressures to Integrate							
A. Parents	.069	.036	.137*	-.040	.024	.058	.021
B. Peers	.046	.095*	.037	.130	.095	.135	.026
Past Interference	-.045	.114*	.114	.116	.107	.146	.195*
Equal-Status Contact	.411*	.286*	.366*	.250*	.166*	.542*	.365*
Participation in School Activities							
A. Athletics	-.055	-.149*	-.160*	-.140*	-.065	-.237*	-.243*
B. Dates	-.068	.138*	.190*	.102*	.196*	.174*	.064
C. Number of Friends	-.004	.171*	.156*	.183	.247*	.152*	.013

*Significant at .05 level.

_Inter-sample differences significant at the .05 level. See "Test for Difference Between Independent Correlations" in Computational Handbook of Statistics, Bruning and Kintz, Glenview: Scott, Foresman, and Co., 1968.

Table 4

RESULTS OF STEPWISE MULTIPLE REGRESSION ANALYSIS BETWEEN AVOIDANCE BEHAVIOR AND ELEVEN INDEPENDENT VARIABLES

Variable	Step	Partial r	Multiple R	Multiple R^2	Increase in R^2	F Ratio	P
Black Students (N = 42)							
Past Interference	1	----	.322	.104	----	3.37	.05
White Students (N = 511)							
Prejudice	1	----	.273	.075	----	37.39	.001
Peer Pressure	2	.139	.304	.092	.018	9.08	.001
Authoritarianism	3	.124	.326	.106	.014	7.22	.001
Fear of Future Comp.	4	.083	.335	.112	.006	3.16	.01

Table 5

RESULTS OF STEPWISE MULTIVARIATE REGRESSION ANALYSIS BETWEEN INTEGRATIVE BEHAVIOR AND ELEVEN INDEPENDENT VARIABLES

Variable	Step	Partial r	Multiple R	Multiple R^2	Increase in R^2	F Ratio	P
Black Students (N = 42)							
Equal-Status Contact	1	----	.411	.169	----	5.91	.01
Authoritarianism	2	-.369	.532	.283	.113	4.09	.05
	Corrected*		R = .510	R^2 = .259			
White Students (N = 511)							
Equal-Status Contact	1	----	.287	.082	----	41.48	.001
Tendency to Disc	2	-.218	.355	.126	.044	23.11	.001
School Involvement (No. of Friends)	3	.180	.393	.154	.028	15.51	.001
Authoritarianism	4	-.162	.420	.176	.022	12.37	.001
School Involvement (Athletics)	5	-.141	.439	.193	.016	9.31	.001
(No. Dates)	6	.091	.446	.199	.007	3.87	.001
Social Pressures (Parents)	7	.077	.452	.204	.005	2.76	.01

*See Footnote Number 4.